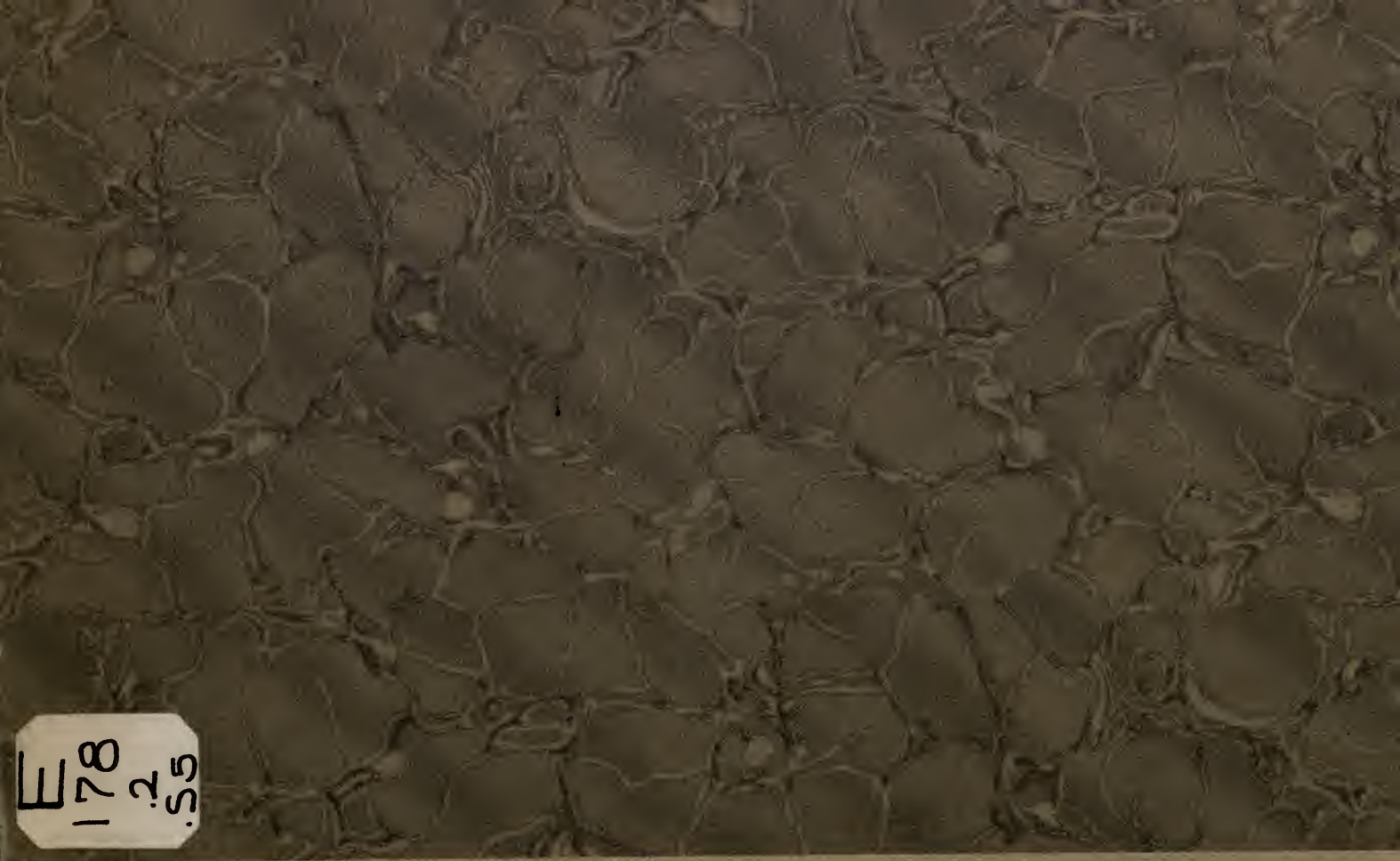

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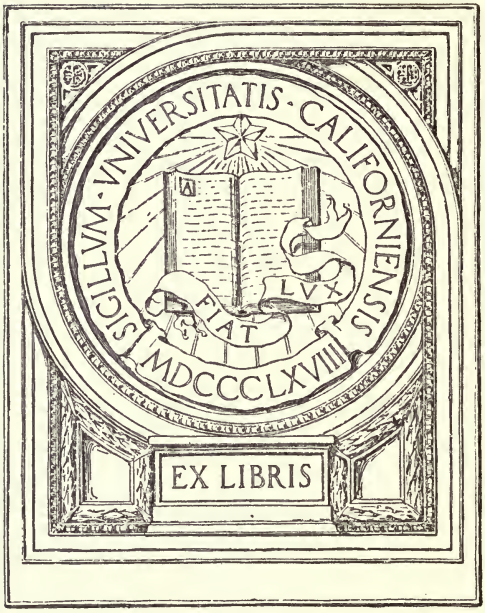

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SYLLABUS

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY

DON E. SMITH

BERKELEY: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

August, 1906

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SYLLABUS

OF A

Course of Twelve Lectures

ON

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

DON E. SMITH, 1878-

BERKELEY: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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LIST OF LECTURES.

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12.—The United States on the Eve of the Civil War.

General Bibliographical Note.

So great is the number and complexity of the printed works on American History, that some preliminary classification of the more important in regard to both scope and period seems necessary. No attempt will be made here to estimate critically all of the important works dealing with a part or the whole period of American History from the first discoveries to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, but it seems worth while to give some indication of those books which are at the same time useful and accessible. Two useful guides to the bibliography of American History are first of all, Channing & Hart's "Guide to American History," (Boston, 1897. Ginn & Co.); and C. K. Adams' "Manual of Historical Literature," (N.Y., 1882. Harper). The last mentioned work is of uneven merit and now somewhat out of date, but the Channing & Hart "Guide," though without critical estimate of the great majority of the works referred to, contains admirably selected bibliographies, both general and special.

General Histories.—No historical scholar of reputation has written a complete general history of the United States covering the entire period. The "Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States," edited by John J. Lalor (Chicago, 1881–1884), is a comprehensive work, in three volumes, and contains some extremely valuable articles by Alexander Johnston. A large coöperative work, and like all such efforts suffering from inequalities of merit among the contributors, was completed in 1889 under the editorship of Justin Winsor, the Librarian of Harvard. These eight

volumes entitled "The Narrative and Critical History of America" (Boston, 1886–89. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) give the general history of the whole American continent, and are especially valuable for their references to the sources and their critical bibliographical apparatus. The latest work of the same general nature and coöperative plan, edited by Prof. A. B. Hart of Harvard, is not yet completed, but is appearing at the rate of several volumes each year. This projected work of twenty-seven volumes, to be known as "The American Nation; A History" (New York. Harper.) has among the authors of the several volumes a number of the foremost historical scholars in the country, and promises to fill a long felt want. Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American Nation," and Bryant & Gay's "Popular History of the United States," are fluent and easy narratives.

Discovery and Exploration.—While this is strictly not American history at all but rather a part of the history of Europe, it is treated as a period of American History in all the general works. The well known two volumes, "The Discovery of America" (Boston, 1892. Houghton.) by John Fiske, is deservedly popular; while H. Harrisse, in his work of the same title, gives what may be termed the scholar's point of view, and embodies in it the latest researches and discussions of mooted points, often of little interest however to the general reader. The well known English historical writer, James Anthony Froude, reproduces the spirit of the early explorers in his "English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century." All the works cited below on Colonial history also deal at some length with the early discoveries and explorations.

Colonial Period.—Some of the greatest names in American historiography are associated with the history of the Colonies. Several of Fiske's best known volumes treat of this epoch, while the writings of Francis Parkman and George Bancroft are in their way classics. Parkman's

"France and England in North America, A Series of Historical Narratives" (Boston, 1865–92. Little.) presents in nine volumes a scientific but dramatic record of the winning of North America for the British race. Bancroft's "A History of the United States" (Sixth Edition, 6 vols., N. Y., 1883–85.) though possessing substantial merits, is now growing out of date, and is conceived in a rather ultra-patriotic spirit. A good account of this period within conveniently small compass is to be found in "The Colonies" (vol. 1, "Epochs of American History," N. Y., 1891. Longmans.) by R. G. Thwaites, and also "A Short History of the English Colonies in America" (N. Y., 1881. Harpers.) by H. C. Lodge. We do not possess as yet an adequate description of the industrial life of the Colonists, but the two-volume "Economic and Social History of New England" (Boston, 1890.), by W. B. Weeden, is excellent for the limited region with which it deals. A work of high merit and from the English point of view is "The English in America" (Three vols., London, 1882–87. Reprinted, Holt, N.Y.), by J. A. Doyle.

Revolutionary Period.—Besides the two American accounts of the history of the Revolution by H. C. Lodge and John Fiske, which are in every library, another view is expressed by two English Liberals in "The War of American Independence" (N. Y., 1889. Longmans.), by J. M. Ludlow, and "The American Revolution" (Two vols., N.Y., 1898, 1902) by Sir G. O. Trevelyan, who, being of decided pro-American sympathies, gives perhaps, all things considered, the best narrative of the Revolutionary War.

National Period.—As is to be expected the literature of this period is peculiarly rich but unfortunately, in some respects, the authors of the larger and best known works without exception write from what may be termed the high Federalist point of view. Henry Adams' "History of the United States" (Nine vols., N.Y., 1889–91. Scribners.) gives a scientific and accurate narrative of the his-

tory between the years 1800 and 1817, based upon the original authorities. James Schouler, "History of the United States under the Constitution" (Five vols., N. Y., 1891. Dodd.), in spite of a somewhat unfortunate style, presents a fairly complete treatment between 1783 and 1861. Richard Hildreth, "The History of the United States," (Six vols., N. Y., 1851–56. Harpers.) writing as a northern Democrat, covers the years 1492–1821. John Bach McMaster, "A History of the People of the United States" (Six vols., N. Y., 1883. Appleton.) emphasizes the element of the life of the people in contra-distinction to purely political history, or an exposition of our constitutional system. The rather ponderous eight volumes of Hermann Von Holst, "The Constitutional History of the United States," (Translated by Lalor and Mason, Chicago, 1876–92. Callaghan.) has the distinction of being the only scholarly work on an ample scale from the pen of a foreigner. Von Holst concludes with the year 1861. A masterly exhibition of the history of the decade 1850–60 and later, is to be found in James Ford Rhodes, "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850" (Five vols., N. Y., 1893. Harpers.).

Hubert Howe Bancroft in his monumental history of thirty-eight volumes, has done for the Pacific slope and the Spaniard in North America what Parkman did for the French and the areas once dominated by them. Histories of the older and more populous states, usually of one volume to each separate state, and of no little diversity of merit, are to be found in the Series of "American Commonwealths," (Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.) edited by Horace E. Scudder. "The Trail-Makers" series (seventeen vols.) edited by J. B. McMaster. and the "Winning of the West" (six vols.) by Theodore Roosevelt, are convenient and reliable accounts of the exploration and peopling of the Great West. The best introduction to the study of the Westward Movement is an article in the

American Historical Review (1894) by Frederick J. Turner.

Biography.—A large and important source of information for American history, particularly during the Revolutionary and National Periods, is to be found in the lives of the public men, and in their correspondence and published works, where they exist. Constant reference to them is given in all the great secondary histories. Perhaps special notice is due such recent and able publications as Prof. Albert Smyth's edition of the works of Franklin; Paul Leicester Ford's "Writings of Thomas Jefferson;" and Worthington C. Ford's "Writings of George Washington." It must be remembered that many of the extended biographies, such as Nicolay and Hay's "History of Lincoln," and Marshall's "Life of Washington," are almost complete histories of the period in which these statesmen lived. A most useful collection of biographical writings is the series, "American Statesmen" (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin & Co.), edited by John T. Morse, Jr.; and the series, "Makers of America," constructed on a similar plan, contains a number of well known volumes.

Travel.—The literature of travel in America is so abundant, and the number of such books by authors of reputation is so great that it is peculiarly difficult to justify the selection of any half dozen titles. However, among the best are: "New Travels in the United States performed in 1788" (two vols., London, 1794. 2nd edit.), by J. P. Brissot de Warville; "Society in America (1834–36)" by Harriet Martineau (three vols., London, 1837.); "Domestic Manners of the Americans," by Mrs. Frances M. Trollope (London, 1832.); "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," by Frederick Law Olmsted (Our Slave States, vol. 1) (N. Y. 1856.); James S. Buckingham's seven volumes of description of the country, under various titles, and Charles Dickens' "Notes on America," cannot be omitted from mention.

Additional and rather more specific references will be found under the several lectures, but all references in this syllabus are to be regarded as merely suggestive and not in any sense complete or exhaustive.

WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

LECTURE ONE.

The Beginnings of American History.

The history of American history-writing; first efforts of American historians directed toward foreign countries; place of American history among historical studies; lateness of American history to receive a place in the curricula of American colleges and universities; different points of view in the writing of American history; problem of giving proper emphasis to economic, social, and political and constitutional elements; justification for emphasizing the attention to the Westward Movement.

Periods of American history; the history of every nation or people has an organic unity; all divisions of history into so-called periods and epochs are artificial; convenience of presentation renders such arbitrary divisions useful; importance of the National Period.

The North American continent; its situation between Europe and the Indies; the physiography of the continent; important influence on American national life of the physical environment in which European settlers found themselves; the Atlantic coast line; the natural harbors; the great forests and the Appalachian mountain system partial barriers to the movement of population toward the interior; the great river systems, St. Lawrence, Hudson and Potomac, afforded means of communication with the Mississippi valley; climate and meteorological conditions; characteristic fauna and flora; effect upon economic life of colonists.

Native races; their share in early development; their treatment at the hands of the Europeans; subjugation by the Spaniards, alliance with the French, extermination by the English; remarkable resistance of the Indians to either assimilation or conquest; effect of this struggle upon the white man.

Beginnings of American history; the early discoveries a part of European history and the outgrowth of European conditions; "American colonization is part of a great historic movement—the Aryan migrations;" close inter-relation of discovery, exploration and colonization; various meanings of the word "colony;" different types in the New World; Spanish, English, French, and Dutch; respective "spheres of influence" in North America; historically, the English colonies must be regarded as dependencies of the British Empire as well as prospective units of the later great federal republic.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

This first period in American history is treated at length in nearly all of the general works, but the following more special volumes may be consulted with profit. For geography, consult N. S. Shaler, "Nature and Man in America (N. Y., 1891), and A. P. Brigham, "Geographic Influences in American History." J. R. Seeley's "Expansion of England" is a stimulating small book dealing with general principles of colonization. However, the best guide to the subject matter of this lecture is to be found in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History."

LECTURE TWO.

The Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution.

In the eighteenth century America and India were the battle-grounds on which the great maritime nations of Europe fought for supremacy; America had now become important in itself and not a mere stepping-stone to India and the Orient; nature of the European contest and its significance to America; the English century; contributions

of the colonists in effecting the ultimate triumph of England.

Remarkable growth of population in the English colonies in America; causes of European immigration, religious, political, and economic; contrasts in the attitudes of Spain, France, and Great Britain toward encouraging immigration to their colonies; the immigrant usually a superior individual of an inferior social class; principal elements in our early population; German and Scotch-Irish, the natural frontiersmen in the advance from the coast settlements to the Alleghanies; topographic divisions of this region and relation to social and economic life.

The production of wealth in all the thirteen colonies was even more rapid than the increase of population; general characteristics of industrial life; abundance of natural resources, highly efficient labor, good markets; lack of capital and good monetary system. Grouping of the colonies according to leading industries; New England was dependent on the sea, the South on agriculture, while the Middle Colonies had a more complex economic organization. Close mercantile connections with West Indies; the fur trade; vast importance to Europe of the American trade.

America as a part of the British Empire; comparison of the position of the thirteen colonies with those of the other European nations; relation to the Crown; regulation of trade; the Navigation Act and various restrictive measures; the Board of Trade; the colonial agent. The "Mercantile Theory" and eighteenth century notions about "balance of trade." Inevitable growth of discontent among the colonists. Political institutions in America; local self-government general throughout the country; efforts on the part of the royal governors to curb popular movements, ineffectual; experience of the colonists in political affairs; Blackstone better known than in England; diffusion of knowledge, particularly relating to law and politics, disposed the Americans to independent thinking, and fore-

shadowed controversy with the mother country and final separation. In spite of the aristocratic origin of most of the colonies and the presence of many rigid class distinctions, society had the essential characteristics of a frontier community. This tendency became more marked with the westward movement of population and with each successive stage in the subduing of the continent.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

In the absence of any one general work dealing adequately with all the phases of the subject of this lecture, reference must be had to such books as, P. A. Bruce, "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century" (2 vols.); Edward McCrady, "History of South Carolina under the Royal Government" (N. Y., 1899); G. D. Bernheim, "German Settlements in North and South Carolina;" William R. Shepherd, "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania;" J. G. Palfrey, "History of New England" (5 vols.); and numerous others of a like nature cited in the general histories. A rare work, but one of exceeding interest on account of the renown of its author is the "Account of the European Settlements in America" (2 vols., sec. edition, London, 1758) by Edmund Burke. Lives of representative colonial leaders like Franklin and Washington throw much light on the times in which they lived.

LECTURE THREE.

The American Revolution.

The War of American Independence was one of the few really epoch-making wars of history. It exerted a profound influence in both the Old and the New World in leading to the political separation of the two, and the establishment of a new system of government. Loss of America turns English colonial interests more than ever in the direction of India. Effect upon France and Spain. Different meanings of the word "revolution;" justness of its application to the American secession from Great Britain.

Two phases of the contest; in the first, the colonists struggle for the rights of Englishmen, against arbitrary government; in the second, the leading motive is independence; geographical distribution of the radical or pro-independent party.

General causes of the war; self-reliant and independent spirit of the Americans due in large measure to isolation and frontier conditions; large adventurer element in the population; analogies in Spanish-America; non-English and anti-English elements among the immigrants from Europe; familiarity with political controversy resulting from contests with the royal governors; depreciation of British fighting qualities after the defeat of Braddock (1755); English protection not needed after conquest of Canada (1763). Economic grievances slight; imperial taxation an irritation rather than a burden.

Immediate cause of the war to be found in Great Britain and in the personality of the king, George III.; his policy toward the colonies; agents of his policy; the opposition; public opinion in England; fluctuations with the progress of the war; Johnson, Gibbon, Burke, Chatham. Opinion on the continent; the isolation of Great Britain.

Extension of the war till it involved all the maritime powers—France, Spain, the Netherlands; the command of the sea passes to the allies; difficult nature of the task before the British in the immense area of America; decisive aid of the French. Franklin and his diplomatic campaign in Europe; extraordinary services in the final negotiations for peace. Fate of the western country; attitude of France; treaty of Versailles, 1783.

Effect of the war on westward development; breaking of the power of the Iroquois by Sullivan's expedition; free expansion to the west assured after the treaty of peace.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The most important works on the Revolution are mentioned in the bibliographical note at the beginning of the syllabus, but the follow-

ing additional references may prove helpful. The literary and culture side of the colonial and revolutionary periods is exhibited in "The History of American Literature during the Colonial Time" (2 vols., 1897), by Moses Coit Tyler; and "A Literary History of America" (N. Y., 1901), by Barrett Wendell. The most important charters and constitutional documents for the colonies are printed in Wm. Macdonald's "Select Charters," while those dealing with the years after 1775 are in his "Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States" (N. Y., 1898). B. J. Lossing's "Field-Book of the Revolution" is devoted to the purely military side of the struggle. C. Tower, "LaFayette in the American Revolution" (2 vols., 1895); J. T. Morse, "Thomas Jefferson" (Boston, 1883); H. C. Lodge, "George Washington" (2 vols., 1889); are good biographies. The development of the West can be studied in: B. A. Hinsdale, "Old Northwest;" J. P. Dunn, "Indiana;" F. J. Turner, articles in American Historical Review, vol. 1, pp. 70-87, and 251-269. From this period on, constant aid may be obtained from Theodore Roosevelt, "Winning of the West."

LECTURE FOUR.

The Growth of Federal Institutions.

The forces making for unity in the colonies were temporarily weakened at the close of the Revolution, and the removal of all fear of foreign domination. The problem confronting the American people at the end of the war was that of insuring independence for the future by establishing a strong national government. Success in creating a workable federal system is the chief contribution of America to political science. Democratic government was to come later, and a united nation last of all.

The "Critical Period" of American history; reasons for giving this name to the years between the recognition of independence and the adoption of the Constitution; the danger of monarchy; danger of three separate republics or leagues of states; danger of foreign encroachments in the western country, preventing American advance to the Mississippi. Failure of the Confederation as a system of government; utter discredit with the nations of Europe;

prostration of business and industry at home; rioting and discontent; Shays' Rebellion; the State of Franklin.

First attempts at a solution of the difficulty; the Annapolis Convention, 1786; call by Congress, February 21, 1787; the great Constitutional Convention organizes in Philadelphia, May 25; its personnel; methods of work; final draft of the Constitution and the three great compromises; sources of the leading ideas in the document; it was based mainly upon American political experience; obscurity surrounding the origin of some features; unforseen developments from certain provisions; revolutionary nature of the government it established.

Far-reaching importance of the contest over the ratification of the Constitution; formation of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist parties; geographical distribution of the two parties; attitude of the frontier communities; their reasons for opposing ratification; the ultimate adoption of the Constitution by the required nine states was a victory for the wealthy and commercial areas over those which were poorer and sparsely settled. The Constitution was framed by statesmen avowedly suspicious of popular government and the first national administration began with distinct aristocratic tendencies.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

Three convenient hand-books covering this period are, "The Making of the Nation," by Gen. Francis A. Walker; "The Formation of the Union," by A. B. Hart; and "The Critical Period of American History," by John Fiske. The following titles are but the beginning of a selection which might be made of the numerous works dealing with constitutional history and the formation of the Constitution: "History of the Constitution," by George Ticknor Curtis; "Commentaries on the Constitution," by Joseph Story; and, "The Federalist," by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. All the large general histories deal more or less elaborately with the Constitution, and it should be remembered that the last volume of George Bancroft is devoted to this subject. Advanced students will of course consult the writings of the "Fathers of the Constitution," notably those of Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, John Adams, Washington, and Jay.

LECTURE FIVE.

The Organization of the Federal Government.

The application of the provisions of the Constitution to actual government was the task before the first president and federal congress; Washington was elected as a matter of course, without opposition, and his colleague, John Adams, was in sympathy with him in all essentials; this period is the so-called "Era of Hamilton," but the success of the first two administrations was due to the dominant personality of Washington; the administration not non-partisan; the first cabinet; its extra-constitutional character.

Extent and population of the country in 1790; the states and the territories; the westward extension of the settled areas; statistical comparison of states and cities; the center of population; trade routes and means of communication; reasons for the remarkable productive power of the American people; comparison with European conditions.

Nearly all the difficulties that beset the national government during the first years were connected with the establishment of a sound fiscal system, with sufficient revenues; the maintenance of a neutral policy with regard to the warring nations of Europe and the safe-guarding of the interests of western country. The discussions growing out of the first two questions led to the antagonism between Hamilton and Jefferson, and the formation of political parties.

The creation of a financial system; the policy of Hamilton; his centralizing and monarchical tendencies; advocacy of a national debt; the National Bank; a protective tariff; his views on the doctrine of "implied powers;" the protest of Jefferson and dissensions in the cabinet; Hamilton's victory and creative work; his originality.

Washington's foreign policy and the struggle for neutrality; wars of the French Revolution; the French alliance; dangers to American carrying trade; the "Democratic Societies" and enthusiasm for the French; divisions in the cabinet in regard to relations with France and Great Britain; the Genet episode; Jay's mission and the treaty of 1795.

History of the western country after the Revolution; the Ordinance of 1787; progress of settlement west of the Alleghanies; Daniel Boone; Kentucky and Tennessee; influence of the Creeks and Cherokees; Indian wars in the Northwest Territory; general influence of the frontier communities on policy of the government; comparative neglect of the west by the Federalist leaders; controversy with Spain over the Mississippi; Washington's plan of internal improvements; significance of the "Whiskey Rebellion;" the rights and interests of the westerners to be recognized only after the downfall of the Federalists and the rise of the new Democracy.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The biographies in the "American Statesmen" series begin to be especially valuable for this period, in addition to the books referred to under Lecture Four. Readers interested in economic history will find helpful, "Tariff History of the United States" (N. Y., 1888), by F. W. Taussig, and W. G. Sumner's "Alexander Hamilton" (N. Y., 1890). A very excellent review of the early economic history of the United States is given in C. J. Bullock's "Introduction to the Study of Political Science." Alexander Johnston's "American Politics," and Edward Stanwood's "History of Presidential Elections" trace the main outlines of purely political history for the rest of the period covered by this syllabus. J. B. McMaster is useful for the life and manners of the people.

LECTURE SIX.

The Era of Jefferson.

With the retirement of Washington, the greatest political force in the country was Thomas Jefferson; the Federalist party is afflicted with a divided leadership; the influence of Hamilton, in spite of his splendid talents, is diminished by blemishes of character; Jefferson undisputed master of his own party; his previous career; his personality.

The Jeffersonian Democracy and the revolution of 1800; the different elements which were welded into the new Republican Party; the common people; the agricultural interests; the old Anti-Federalists and the new strict constructionists; the sympathizers with France against England; the landed aristocracy of the South; the men of the New West; platform of the new party; opposition to centralizing and aristocratic tendencies; reduction of the public debt and rigid economy; militia rather than a standing army; new kind of navy.

Jefferson and his party came into power with the election of 1800, and governed the country for twenty-four years; nature and significance of the revolution of 1800; why the Federalists failed; alarm of the "better classes" over the prospective social upheaval; what the revolution did not accomplish; the attempt of Jefferson to apply his principles to the problem of actual government; the Louisiana Purchase.

The struggle for neutrality is still the keynote of the foreign policy of this period; American provincialism and dependence upon Europe; why neutrality was all but impossible; the special grievances of England; the remedy of peaceful coercion and the embargo; in the midst of this contest, Jefferson turned over the presidential office to Madison and retired to Monticello; his policy is continued

by his lieutenants and disciples, Madison and Monroe; during Madison's administration new influences and new leaders begin to be felt; the young nationalist statesmen, Clay and Calhoun; the War of 1812.

From the close of the war to the election of 1824 are the years termed the "era of good feeling;" disintegration of the old Federalist party; the Hartford Convention; rise of new issues; the tariff; internal improvements; subsidence of interest in foreign affairs; the new Latin-American republics and the Monroe Doctrine; "The United States secures freedom from Europe and turns toward the West;" declining influence of New England and Virginia, and the rise of the New South and West. End of the period of American provincialism; the new and rampant patriotism.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The authorities for this lecture are in the main the same as for Lecture Five, but it must be remembered that for the administrations of Adams and Jefferson there is little need of supplementing the volumes of Henry Adams, "History of the United States." Sufficient for the diplomatic history of this period are, Lyman's "Diplomacy of the United States," and Trescott's "Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams." The texts of the treaties to which the United States was a party will be found in "Treaties and Conventions of the United States," by J. C. B. Davis. The biographies of Clay, Marshall, J. Q. Adams, Monroe, and Benton are valuable for the life of the times. "The Opening of the Mississippi," by F. A. Ogg, and "The Louisiana Purchase," by Ripley Hitchcock, are good accounts of the transfer of Louisiana and the question of the navigation of the Mississippi.

LECTURE SEVEN.

Jackson and the New Democracy.

The second great political revolution in American history was marked by the overwhelming defeat of J. Q. Adams for the Presidency by Andrew Jackson; comparison of the revolutions of 1800 and 1828; contrasts in the per-

sonalities of Jefferson and Jackson; influence of the West on the political situation; elements of Jackson's popularity.

Peculiar importance of the mere personal element during "the rule of Jackson;" knowledge of the story of his life necessary to the understanding of his policies as President; his Scotch-Irish ancestry; early environment; hatred of the English; education; military career; he was a frontiersman with the virtues, but with few of the vices of that type; political career; history of his candidacy for the Presidency; his friends.

Andrew Jackson as President of the United States; his responsibility for the introduction of the "Spoils System;" precedents; condition of party politics at that time; "turn the rascals out;" methods of work; the "Kitchen Cabinet;" the rise of Van Buren.

The contest over Nullification; the early history of the doctrine found in the debates over ratifying the constitution; relation to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; nullification in the North; Pennsylvania and New England; Georgia and the Supreme Court; causes of discontent in South Carolina; the tariff of 1828; changed attitude of Calhoun; Webster's reply to Hayne, 1830; more tariff legislation, 1832; the Ordinance of Nullification and its reception by Jackson; philosophy of the nullification movement.

Jackson and the attack on the United States Bank; justification from a financial point of view; prejudices against the bank as the representative of the money power; influence of Clay in forcing an issue; withdrawal of the government deposits; panic of 1837.

Jackson refused a third term, but chose his successor in office, and continued to exercise great political influence while in retirement; varying estimates of his career; opinion of Von Holst; his greatness of character; defects as a chief executive of a republic; place among the great figures of American public life.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

Among the very helpful small books dealing with this period are Woodrow Wilson's "Division and Reunion," and John W. Burgess' "The Middle Period." On the industrial side, R. T. Ely's "Labor Movement in America," and Wells' "Recent Economic Changes" are reliable aids. The last word on the subject of Jackson and the war on the Bank is to be found in R. C. H. Catterall, "Second Bank of the United States." The social life and manners of the Americans of this time are portrayed in the books of travel such as Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, A. de Tocqueville, and others mentioned in the General Bibliographical Note. The well-known "American Commonwealth," by James Bryce, throws a great deal of light incidentally on the American "middle ages," though it purports to describe a later period. The chief documents are given in Macdonald's collection, cited before.

LECTURE EIGHT.

The Slavery Question and the New South.

The tendency among historians of America in recent years is to assign a less decisive part to the question of slavery in national politics; difficulty of determining just when slavery became the paramount issue; necessity of treating American abolition as a part of a world-movement, very largely of European origin; chattel slavery and its relation to other systems of labor; relative productiveness of free and slave labor.

The introduction of negro slavery into America; Las Casas, and the Spanish system; into the English colonies; the slave trade and the various negro races; forms of non-free labor in the Thirteen Colonies; gradual dying out of slavery in the North; decreasing profit from slaves in the South; the influence of the cotton-gin; the Southern slave system came to be based on limitless free land and the cotton crop; the slave-breeding states.

The abolition movement in the United States; arguments in favor of slavery; late development of the "positive

good'' theory; ancient precedents; benefits to both the inferior and superior race; mankind in general benefitted by extermination or enslavement of savages; views of Aristotle, Sepulveda, and Roosevelt; economic necessity in unhealthy lands.

The anti-slavery argument; bad economically because it prevented diversification of industries, or even of crops; exhausted the land; excluded use of machinery; degraded labor of free whites and deterred immigration; debasing to master and slave; opposed to old theory of ''natural rights.''

The colonial abolitionists; the Quakers; Jefferson's great services in opposition to slavery; the attitude of the Fathers; the first controversies; idea that slavery was to die out naturally; schemes for transporting the negroes; sudden awakening of popular interest by the Missouri Compromise debate; the balance of the sections; the adoption of this principle till the year 1854; significance of the great compromise on later history.

In the history of the relations of the slavery question to the Federal Government, three distinct phases may be distinguished: (a) after 1807 the importation of slaves was prohibited, and to make this measure more effective the slave trade was later declared to be piracy; (b) after 1820 slavery was to be excluded from certain parts of the public domain (north of 36° 30′, except Missouri); (c) total abolition during a civil war, under the war power of the President, later made a provision of the Constitution by amendment.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

All the larger histories, such as Schouler, Hildreth, Von Holst, and Bryant and Gay, deal at length with slavery in its political and constitutional aspects. Works like Horace Greeley's ''American Conflict,'' Henry Wilson's ''Slave Power in America,'' and William Goodell's ''Slavery and Anti-Slavery'' are special studies of the slavery question as their titles indicate. A complete and scholarly handling of the whole subject of the slave trade is ''The Suppression of

the African Slave Trade,'' by W. E. B. DuBois. F. L. Olmsted's travels in the slave country are the basis of vivid but discriminating observations on the slave system in practice. Extracts from his various ''Journeys'' are published under the title of the ''Cotton Kingdom.''

LECTURE NINE.

Western Expansion and the Mexican War.

The rapid and uninterrupted march of population across the American continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was due to two permanent causes: (a) the natural expansiveness of a rapidly growing and energetic population, with traditions of migration behind them, and (b) the absence of a natural frontier; the acquisition of Louisiana became necessary when once the line of settlement had crossed the Alleghanies; a secondary cause of the rapid westward expansion is to be found in the anxiety of the slave power to secure more territory, and by 1845 the preservation of the equilibrium between the North and the South seemed to require the annexation of a part of Mexico.

The immediate cause of the Mexican War was the annexation of Texas and the claim of the Rio Grande as the frontier; previous history of Texas; the land grants; character of the American emigrants; grievances against Mexico; the Lone Star Republic, 1836; recognition by the United States, 1837; the demand for annexation in Texas and the United States; relation of the Oregon question to that of Texas; intentions of England; elimination of England from the controversy by the Oregon Treaty of 1846; Texas annexed, December 3, 1845.

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War was declared upon Mexico, May 13, 1846; Lincoln's ''Spot Resolutions;'' policy of Polk; desire for a short war; fear of Taylor and Scott politically; Benton as a possible commander-in-chief; military collapse of Mexico; conquest of California; expeditions of Fremont to find a

route to the Pacific; incidental objects; frail tenure of Mexico upon Upper California; "Bear Flag Republic;" Sloat and Stockton on the coast; discovery of gold; results of the war; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February, 1848.

Question of the disposition of the newly acquired territories in the West the chief issue in American politics till the eve of the Civil War; the danger to the balance of power between the sections suddenly precipitated the slavery contest and ultimately led to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; the year 1850, which was marked by the last of the compromises, may be regarded as the beginning of a new epoch in American History.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

In addition to the general histories referred to under Lecture Eight, and the biographies of Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Cass, Seward, and others, there is a large body of most useful literature of a semi-biographical nature such as Benton's "Thirty Years' View" and Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress." The best one-volume history of Texas is the one in the "American Commonwealths" series, by George P. Garrison. There is also the volume on California in the same series, by Josiah Royce, while the writings of H. H. Bancroft and T. H. Hittell are too well known for special notice. Three large works of quite different scope and point of view but familiar to all students of American history because of their high merit, begin to be of service for this period. They are "Abraham Lincoln," by Nicolay and Hay; "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850," by James F. Rhodes; and, "A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States," by Alexander H. Stephens. Wilson's "Division and Reunion" is still a handy and brief guide.

LECTURE TEN.

Economic Development in the United States during the National Period.

The one aspect of American development which has never failed to impress foreign writers and observers is the progress made in the production of material wealth;

reasons for this progress along industrial lines found in the character of the population and the natural resources of the continent; subjugation of the continent and exploitation of its resources a necessary preparation for later development; the National Period begins when the Industrial Revolution had been completed in England; effect of independence on restrictions of commerce; freedom to trade not secured till after 1815.

Throughout the whole period of American history agriculture has been the chief occupation of the people; contrasts between American and European agriculture; absence of a peasant class in America; productiveness of the soil; effect of free land; principal crops; comparison of free and slave labor in their effect upon agriculture; the three historic crops, tobacco, cotton, and corn; inventions.

Comparatively late development of manufactures; chief manufactures of the Colonial period, ships, naval stores, rum; growth of the textile industries; introduction of steam machinery from England; centering of manufactures in New England; growth of the protective idea in tariff legislation; mineral wealth of the country; use of coal in the iron and steel industry; manufactures retarded by cost of transportation and labor.

Problem of cheap transportation in large countries; special difficulties in America; early trade routes; necessity of roads and canals; the question of internal improvements in national politics; the Cumberland Road; application of steam to river navigation; the Erie canal; government aid to the building of roads and canals stopped by appearance of railroads; the first railroads short independent lines; gradual consolidation and formation of systems; American merchant marine.

Increase of immigration after the second war with England; absence of restrictive legislation; migration a natural right; effect upon the price of labor; upon the idea of nationality as opposed to sectionalism; upon the national

character; upon the preponderance of the North in wealth and population as against the South.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

There is no one book which gives within convenient compass the economic history of the country. The economic writers cited before, such as Ely, Wells, and Sumner, deal with the industrial and financial changes. The best known history of the railroads is "Railroad Transportation," by C. F. Adams.

LECTURE ELEVEN.

The Irrepressible Conflict.

The territory obtained from Mexico as a result of the war had not strengthened the South; the balance of power between the sections was still in favor of the North, and sectional feeling had been embittered by the debates over the Wilmot Proviso; the growing sensitiveness of the South regarding her "peculiar institution" increased by violence of the Abolitionists; the opposing economic interests of the sections intensified by the marvelous development of the North and the stationary condition of the South.

The constitutional theories of John C. Calhoun and his school dominated all Southern political thought; as a young man Calhoun had been one of the most vigorous national statesmen; the essence of his philosophy, the finding of methods under the Constitution of protecting a minority against the tyranny of a majority; the doctrine that slavery was a positive good, not a necessary evil; endeavor to find a means short of secession of safe-guarding the slavocracy; proposals in his last speech, March, 1850.

The unsatisfactory nature of the compromise of 1850; practical impossibility of any sort of compromise; chief provisions of Clay's Omnibus Bill; greatest debate in American history; who gained the advantage; reception of the compromise by the country at large; passing of the great leaders, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster.

Apparently an overwhelming majority of the American people had accepted the compromise principle when the Fugitive Slave Law of 1853 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 reopened the whole question; Stephen A. Douglas and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; results of "squatter-sovereignty;" rendition of fugitive slaves; nullification in the North; personal liberty laws; character of the new leaders.

The coming forward of the slavery question as the principal issue in national politics caused the break-up of the old Whig party; the various elements which entered into the new Republican party; Presidential campaign of 1858; virulence of political discussion; the impending crisis.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The two great authorities for this period are of course Nicolay and Hay's "Lincoln," and the earlier volumes of J. F. Rhodes' "History of the United States." Perhaps the best understanding of the men and events of the time will be gained from a study of their lives and writings. In addition to those mentioned under Lecture Nine reference should be made to McLaughlin's "Lewis Cass," Curtis' "Buchanan," Schucker's "Chase," and Sherman's "Recollections." There does not exist a good life of Stephen A. Douglas. The essential documents for this period, such as the Omnibus Bill and Clay's Resolutions; the text of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, with Douglas' Report; and the Dred Scott Decision with the dissenting opinion written by Justice Curtis are all contained in the Macdonald's "Select Documents."

LECTURE TWELVE.

The United States on the Eve of the Civil War.

The realization that the question at issue between the North and the South was insoluble except by war or secession, or both, was growing during the last years of the decade 1850–60; the increasing demand of the slavocracy met by increased bitterness of the anti-slavery agitators; a number of untoward events, partly accidental, and partly

flowing naturally from the earnestness of both parties to the slave controversy aggravated the situation; additional difficulties arising from the mutual ignorance and depreciation of one section for the other.

Political situation in 1860; the campaign of 1860 one of principles rather than of men; no one of the candidates had pre-eminent claims to the Presidency; the national conventions and the party platforms; the real leaders of the parties not nominated; why Douglas failed to receive support of the South; the pro-slavery Democrats desired Lincoln to be elected; this prearranged election a preliminary of secession.

History of the theory of secession; justifiability depends upon the nature of the Union; early threats; relation of secession to nullification; leaders of Southern thought after the death of Calhoun; Yancey, Toombs, Cobb, Jefferson Davis; motives of secession other than desire to protect slavery; independence; personal ambition of politicians; belief that economic position could be improved outside the Union; schemes for a great pro-slavery empire; belief in the right interpretation of the Constitution.

Courses open to the National Government for meeting secession; (a) no opposition whatever; (b) resistance with the military and naval forces of the central government; (c) compromise; policy of Buchanan's administration toward the seceded states; the Crittenden Compromise; peace conference presided over by John Tyler.

The boldness of the course pursued by Southern leaders resulted from their belief in the lack of decision, not to say pusillanimity of the North, and the influence of "King Cotton" in bringing to them the active support of the European powers; the President-elect, Abraham Lincoln, was an unknown quantity and was regarded by men of his own party as a mediocre statesman; seemingly no person whose opinion carried great weight had any notion of the magnitude of the contest into which the nation was drifting. In

the great Civil War which was to follow the people of what was then the Great West, inured to hardship by frontier conditions, furnished the principal leaders for the North and decided the victory for nationality.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

The authorities are substantially the same for this as the previous lecture. Considerable information from the Southern point of view for the years just previous to the Civil War, is given in "The Lost Cause," by E. A. Pollard, and in "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," by Jefferson Davis.

SOME MEMORABLE DATES IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

1492. First Voyage of Columbus.
1513. Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.
1519. Voyage of Magellan; Cortez conquers Mexico.
1540. Coronado's Expedition.
1578. Drake in California.
1607. Settlement of Jamestown.
1620. Settlement of Plymouth.
1664. English Conquest of New Netherlands.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
1754. Albany Congress.
1763. Treaty of Paris. (End of Seven Years' War.)
1765. The Stamp Act.
1774. First Continental Congress.
1776. Declaration of Independence.
1778. The French Alliance.
1783. The Treaty of Versailles.
1787. The Constitutional Convention; Northwest Ordinance.
1789. First Federal Administration. (Capital at New York City.)
1793. Cotton-Gin Invented.
1795. Jay Treaty Ratified. The Treaty of Greenville. (After Wayne's Victory.)
1803. Louisiana Purchase.
1807. Prohibition of Slave Trade.
1811. Battle of Tippecanoe.
1815. Treaty of Ghent; Battle of New Orleans.
1816. Charter of United States Bank; Protective Tariff.
1819. Florida Purchase.
1820. Missouri Compromise.
1823. Monroe Doctrine.
1830. Debate on Foote's Resolution. (Webster vs. Hayne.)
1832. Nullification in South Carolina.
1836. Texas Independent.
1842. Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain.
1845. Annexation of Texas.
1846. Oregon Question Settled; California Seized.
1848. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
1850. The Great Compromise.
1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
1857. Dred Scott Decision.
1858. Lincoln-Douglas Debate.
1860. Election of Abraham Lincoln.

DEPARTMENT OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

LIST OF SYLLABUSES OF COURSES OF TWELVE LECTURES.

1.—History of the French Revolution, by H. Morse Stephens.

2.—History and Literature of Russia, by Jerome B. Landfield.

3.—History and Historians, by H. Morse Stephens.

4.—The Renaissance in Italy, by Garrick Mallory Borden.

5.—History of Music, by Garrick Mallory Borden.

6.—The Napoleonic Period in Europe, by H. Morse Stephens.

7.—The Victorian Poets, by Frederick J. Teggart.

8.—History of Trade Unionism, by Carleton Parker.

9.—The Enlightened Despotism of the Eighteenth Century in Europe, by H. Morse Stephens.

10.—The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Power in Europe and America, by Don E. Smith.

11.—South Africa, by Carleton Parker.

12.—The Westward Movement in American History, by Don E. Smith.

13.—Dramatic Literature in the Times of Elizabeth and James I, by Frederick Mortimer Clapp.

14.—The Prose Literature of Russia in Novel and Short Story, by Frederick Mortimer Clapp.

Copies of any of these syllabuses and of the circular describing the system of University Extension can be obtained upon application to the Secretary for University Extension, University of California, Berkeley, California.